

Aparao OAS

Breg

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

139

yourself as best you can. Any kind of excuse will do in order to escape a thrashing or a severe scolding, provided it proves acceptable; but take care not to be caught lying: this could but add to the latter's resentment. To get out of a bad predicament a little deceit is not forbidden, but not everybody can use it with good results; so be careful about it".

Lately, when paying a visit to *Basilig* at Pansian, his daughters set the table (in the Isneg way, of course) for him, and partook of the food only after their father had finished his own meal, although this is not required by custom.

In general the Isneg have a high regard for their parents and elders, although in our eyes their conduct may sometimes seem to be lacking in outward signs of respect. Their standard of etiquette and politeness is not exactly the same as our own. An Isneg child calls its parents "father" and "mother", and a usual title of respect for aged people is *kakdy*, but for the rest it is not very demonstrative.

So, when an Isneg mother recently came to visit her son at my house, the other boys repeatedly told him that his mother was there, but he did not move in the least: the old woman had to go and look for him herself somewhere around the house. Nevertheless that boy had asked me on a former occasion to be allowed to stop going to school in order to help his widowed mother with the wages he would be able to earn that way.

To be convinced that Isneg children respect their elders, although most all outward signs common to our own code are usually absent, it is sufficient to observe their behavior and that of their elders, whenever something untoward has happened. Isneg children look like angels, if you compare their attitude and whole demeanor with that of older men and women, who shout and gesticulate and allow the whole neighborhood to know what happened, without having to go out of its way to listen to the conversation. Boys and girls usually keep quiet when their parents are angry, while in the case of older people it is a question of proving who has the loudest voice, the one that carries the farthest: among the Isneg, the biggest shouter usually gains the victory.

An unmannerly person is called *toxáron*; this epithet, however, is only applied as far as I know, to a person who drinks directly from the *urúd*, a bamboo that is used for fetching water, instead of using a cup.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

145

factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *mbial* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadaw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinaguran* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinaguran* your friend, is he not?

Kadaw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

577 slanderer's mouth at all price. 'Keep quiet for the sake of peace',
the Ibanag will say. For the sake of peace! What kind of an Isneg
578 is he who knows anything about peace under the circumstances?

558 Keep quiet, if you cannot do otherwise, all right; but there is more
than one day in a year: try to find an occasion to settle your quarrels,
do not dismiss the matter from your mind until your right has been
recognized. Did you ever meet a coward who became rich or in-
fluential? And he is a coward who would keep silent in a quarrel
when the right is on his side. A few people will continue the fight,
although evidently in the wrong: this should not be; if wrong, let
go; but if right, go ahead. Nevertheless be careful not to use your
headax indiscriminately. The best thing to do is to keep it out of the
way, lest you do rashly what you would have to repent of afterwards.

[628] Indeed, you might kill or injure one of your friends and in this way
start a series of blood feuds. Remember that the right remains on
your side only as long as no blood flows; but when killing or wound-
ing results from your quarrel, the offended party gets the right on
its side and will not fail to revenge the offense, and with reason."

578 Last year *Kadaw*'s son divorced one of his wives, a relative of
Pa-rdy, the "presidente" or mayor of Tawit. The woman married
558 another man, and her parents failed to give back to *Kadaw* all the
556 articles given them at the time of her first marriage; a few of them
627 were kept: hence a terrible quarrel. *Pa-rdy* and *Kadaw*, both in-
fluential among their people, met at Kabugaw at the invitation of the
lieutenant-governor. For days the square resounded with the shouts
of *Kadaw*, who being perhaps the richer and certainly the older of
the two, hoped to gain the victory by showing the greatest daring.
He even went so far as to challenge the other party to wage war for
a year in order to see in whose favor the dispute would be settled.
Pa-rdy, however, kept to his rights, he did not move an inch from
his evidently strong position, and after several days of angry words
and much ostentation of bravery on both sides, the quarrel was finally
settled by the lieutenant-governor himself in favor of *Pa-rdy*.

Kadaw at the time made himself ridiculous all over the district
for trying to defend a cause that was lost from the beginning. Never-
theless very few would have dared to tell him so to his face: *Kadaw*
is very much feared, he is a rich man, and the whims of such people
should not be openly ridiculed; but everybody was more than con-
vinced that *Kadaw*'s behavior was not what it should be. He clearly
578 offended against the recognized Isneg code, and *Pa-rdy*, besides getting
558
627

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

147

his rights, won the sympathy of every unbiased Isneg. He kept up the quarrel and finished it with a complete victory. If no constabulary soldiers had been in the province, the result would evidently not have been as bloodless as that, and a series of interminable feuds would have been the inevitable result. Right and wrong would gradually have been forgotten, and nothing would have been left but a series of revenges on both sides following one another in quick succession, revenges that would have come to be considered lawful in the eyes of every Isneg on account of the injuries that would have preceded them. 578 558 628 627

The above lines were written while I was away from Kabugaw. When on my way back thither, and before reaching the latter place, I heard that during my absence *Kadaw* had killed *Rukkadén*, a policeman from Baliwanan and the latest husband (he was the third one) of the woman referred to in the previous paragraph. Instead of going straight to Kabugaw, I stopped for a while at Bolo and had a little conversation about the matter with *Káyábo*, a Bolo brave or *ménal*. Bolo is in sympathy with Lettnakan, *Kadaw's* place, and *Káyábo* did not fail to show that he held no brief for Baliwanan, nor for *Pa-rdy* either. At a certain moment the old fellow stopped his diatribe to ask for *Pa-rdy's* title, and a complacent companion told him that *Pa-rdy* was now "presidente". At this juncture *Káyábo* said: "*Desirénte, kawél* (president, dung)", which is the most forceful expression of contempt in the mouth of an Isneg. 578

On the same occasion I purposely referred to *Baslig* of Pansian who belongs to the *Pa-rdy* faction, saying that I had seen an *andóri* (a special tattoo on the arm of a man who has taken the head of an enemy; this *andóri* may sometimes be tattooed on the arm of one of his children) on the arm of his daughter, which I told *Káyábo* I supposed to be a proof of the valor of *Baslig*. But *Káyábo* could not bear to hear any praise of a man who belonged to a faction he despised, and he used a most vulgar expression in denying *Baslig's* rights to such honors: "*Óki náyá atáwana ya andórina* (the vulva of his wife is his *andóri*)". This again shows that in the eyes of an Isneg an enemy has no rights, that no consideration is due to him, that he is a complete nonentity, while a friend is to be supported by all means, even though by committing a most flagrant injustice. *Kadaw* is now in jail, but most all Isneg are firmly convinced that ere long he will get out of it, because he is supposed to be the richest man in Apayaw. [304] [554] [556]

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

157

have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

625
628
177

577
683

[578]

577
609
683
574

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

161

the fact that I had used his daughter. Can you beat it?" Needless to say, the conversation was practically a soliloquy on the part of the policeman. I do not believe though that his action was consonant with the Isneg code of morals; but this incident, and especially the answer of the girl's father, shows clearly how different is the state of man and woman among the Isneg, with reference to sex morality.

836
 831
 562
 661
 554

It should be added here that the father would probably have objected much more strongly to the man who took such liberties with his daughter, if he had not been a policeman. The latter are supposed to be more or less immune and may take liberties not accorded to others, probably on account of their position. Isneg in general resent that: I have heard them say so more than once; but they are afraid to object too strongly, and so policemen mostly do what they like: their reputation is far from clean all over the district, although I do not believe that they are all equally blamable. Later on I heard that, at the time of the above occurrence, the policeman had intended to make the girl his second wife, an engagement which had been broken off at a subsequent date.

It may be noted in this connection that among the Isneg a man, whether single or married, who commits adultery with a married woman (*manaladag*) is thought to be driven to his crime by some evil spirit. In such a case his guilt would be considerably lessened in our point of view; not so, however, in that of the Isneg: in his eyes, it is only the ultimate act that counts, as has been stated before.

684
 837
 776
 672

"A fit of anger usually makes a man ridiculous in the eyes of the bystanders. It is true that when there is question of a rightful quarrel, you should never fail to sustain it; to be meek and patient under the circumstances would be mere cowardice. Nevertheless everybody is inclined to laugh at the behavior of an angry man: so, although you be strictly in your right, try to control your anger sufficiently not to cause others to laugh at you.

201
 152
 577
 578

"You know our belief with reference to people who are wont to laugh at the defects of other persons (*magdola*): if such people are married, they will be punished by having their children suffer the same defect; if they are still young, the children who will be born to them in the future will be misshapen (*pakas*).

201
 152
 577

"A certain amount of *basi* is not to be despised, but drinking to excess is always bad. Who respects a drunken man? Besides, think about the consequences: quarrels, fights, bloodshed, revenges, etc. As soon as you feel that you have enough, go away and sleep it off, lest you commit regrettable deeds.

733
 577

577
574 you commit regrettable deeds. Gluttony is condemned by everybody;
261 never keep all the best viands for yourself alone, and be careful not
to eat to excess.

577 "Beware of talking about your neighbor's defects in his absence
626 (*maglibá-*; in Iloko, *aglibák* means "to hide, to conceal, not to con-
521 fess, not to manifest"); it may come to his ears; and in such a case,
just imagine how he will feel about it. Do you expect him to forgive
you without more ado, and to continue his friendly relations with you?

152 "Do not be a talebearer; such men are the curse of the community:
most quarrels take their origin in this vice. Anyone who is known
to be addicted to it, at once loses all consideration among decent men,
and his company is avoided as much as possible.

"Never boast about your virtues, your possessions, your actions,
except on the occasion of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, when every brave Isneg
should recount his glorious deeds for the edification of youth. A
man who is puffed up with self-conceit and vainglory is despised by
all. The ignorant may perhaps respect him or rather be afraid of
him, but the general public scorns him. You know what it means to
be called *makiddyaw* (proud) or *napiñláw* (braggart); so never give
occasion to anybody to fling such an epithet at your head.

• [578] "Beware of being jealous of your neighbor's prosperity or good
luck. If fate or the spirits have been less generous to you, that is
no reason for being envious of others who are more fortunate than
yourself. Ambition is good, jealousy is bad".

2. *Motives Proposed to Young*

000 Now I shall discard my rôle of Isneg moralist, and say a few words
about the motives that are proposed to the youngsters. A good many
points have already been hinted at in the preceding treatment of the
Isneg moral code, so here I shall merely resume and complete or
elucidate my former statements.

626 It should be said in general that, except when referring to religions,
magical or superstitious practices as such, and to the duty of head-
hunting, no religious or supernatural motives are proposed to the
children in order to get them to obey the moral law, nor are the
children ever taught to expect rewards or punishments from super-
natural beings. One might perhaps be inclined to accept a few other
cases as possible exceptions, for instance that of scoffers referred to
above; but it should be remembered that even in such cases, the Isneg
never mention directly the intervention of any supernatural beings.

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

163

The children are usually afraid of the spirits, who are legion, and some of whom might be called bugaboos of one kind or another, but threats of these beings or of ghosts are never resorted to in order to frighten the youngsters into good conduct, except again in the first two cases just mentioned.

To the Isneg future life is simply a continuation of the present one, except for a few differentiating details, as living in a silver house and so on. A man, whether good or bad, continues his daily life, like in a dream, at the other side of the tomb, just as if nothing had happened. The difference that exists between the interred body of a good man and that of a bad one, which will be explained in due time, can have only very little influence on the conduct of men here on earth; and besides, there also the question of shame is of paramount importance, no less than among the living, as will be seen later on.

Consequently practically every article of the socio-moral code gets its sanction from non-religious or natural motives. Shame is the most often resorted to, shame that results from the known violation of any point of the moral code, shame that affects not only the delinquent, but also his parents. "Do not do that lest your parents be shamed" is a phrase very commonly used in order to persuade the child to conduct itself well. The terms "shame (*aliydw*)", "shameful (*nakaliydw*)", "ashamed (*maliydw*)", are almost continually on the Isneg's lips; they serve both as an excuse for negligence in complying with one's duties, and as a motive for good behavior. Nothing is more powerful than the fear of being ashamed in order to cause an Isneg either to live honorably or to commit a dastardly crime. An Isneg is exceedingly sensitive to shameful and opprobrious epithets; he will do anything to avoid any of them being thrown at his head, and he resents it very much if he is accused undeservedly. Lest he be called a coward, an Isneg will sustain a quarrel indefinitely, whether he be on the right side or not. Shame is the biggest incentive for young people to behave and to keep themselves from indulging in all too flagrant transgressions of the moral code, especially with reference to sex morality. An Isneg child will be taught to be obedient and respectful toward its parents, lest the latter be shamed on account of its unruly conduct. Honesty and truthfulness have to be practised lest a man be branded as a thief or a liar, which are exceedingly opprobrious terms in the mouth of a native. In short, the fear of shame keeps the Isneg on the right path in a thousand instances, and any kind of privation or hardship will be suffered patiently, the

626 hardest labor will be gladly accepted in order to avoid shame, which
558 to an Isneg seems to be a kind of synthesis of all evils. That is also
578 the reason why ridicule is such a powerful weapon among the Isneg.
For fear of ridicule a man will cover himself modestly when appearing
in the presence of women, and miscreants will resort to ridicule
in order to induce a young man to commit the worst crimes. No Isneg
can stand ridicule.

626 Among the Isneg pride and ambition are only second to shame as
incentives for being virtuous and conducting oneself honorably; never-
theless they are far from having the same power as shame, and
[461] parents will use them in a much smaller degree than the latter motive.
The indolence of the Isneg has considerably lessened the power of
ambition and pride as a motive for complying with the tenets of
their moral code.

And so also praise and encouragement, although they rarely fail
to help an Isneg youngster onward on the path of duty, are much less
powerful than the all-feared ridicule. Isneg parents, however, are
very well aware of the fact that a little occasional praise and a timely
word of encouragement will rarely fail to be appreciated by the child,
and that they will often do very much for the latter's betterment or
the continuance of its right behavior.

Flattery is not so much in their line, and it is comparatively rarely
resorted to in order to make a young man or woman behave decently.
In the case of smaller children, however, it will often be used with the
best of results.

The hope of a reward is not always as powerful as the fear of
punishment, at least in the case of the little ones. But allow
me to reserve the treatment of this subject for one of the follow-
ing paragraphs.

3. Methods of Training

361 I shall not enter here into a large number of details with reference
867 to the methods used in the training of children, as very much has
[881] been said already in my lengthy treatment of the moral code. I shall
go over the whole matter rather quickly, the more so as there is
no question of initiation or puberty rites among the Isneg.

[602] Although elders, whosoever they be, may occasionally take a hand
in the training of children, nevertheless this task devolves principally
on the parents, and to a certain extent also on the grandparents. The
tribe or community as such has little or nothing to do with the moral
upbringing of the younger members of any given settlement.

628 is rarely abandoned, whether in small matters among youngsters, or
183 in graver matters among adults; but in the latter case nowadays it
178 mostly takes the form of a lawsuit entered at court. One exception,
however is to be noticed: the practice of sacking the houses of special
offenders is still faithfully adhered to all over Apayaw. Revenge is
exceedingly sweet to an Isneg and it is not easily superseded by the
law of charity: indeed the Isneg sucks it in with his mother's milk
and his whole life is still intimately pervaded by the fragrance of
old and glorious traditions. And so also the Isneg in general, whether
small children or grown-up persons, rarely abandon a quarrel in
which the right is on their side, for fear of having the epithet of
coward thrown at their head. Peace continues to be an unknown
entity as long as an Isneg thinks it his duty to leave it in the back-
ground.

578 Nevertheless when two Isneg have become estranged from one an-
183 other, one or both of them will occasionally try to adjust the matter
amicably, but in such a way as to preclude all possible risk of being
shamed or of being considered as acting through fear or cowardice.
Anagulukkáp (a kind of herb or grass), kept in the palm of one of
your hands when you are likely to meet your opponent, is an in-
fallible means to allay his wrath and to change his hate into emity.
[431] Once reconciled to your enemy, the best way to settle the matter
definitively and to render the ensuing friendship durable is to make
him some present: a jar, a headax, or anything you suppose will
prove acceptable to him. Such a gift is called *palatidd*.

577 The practice of gratitude, generosity and hospitality is generally
576 fairly concordant with Isneg theory, but, as has been stated repeat-
574 edly, the Isneg code does not seem to impose any of these social
183 virtues in a very marked degree. It is very hard, for instance, to
translate the expression "thank you" in Isneg, as they possess no
term that might be considered as more or less its equivalent.

183 Here I shall cite a case in which at first sight practice flagrantly
574 contradicts Isneg theory in every respect. The incident happened
577 in March 1927, when a captain of the Constabulary, several soldiers
and a few civilians, including myself, were on their way to Abra.
We had finished ascending the Dagara river and were dropping into
Abra, when night overtook us at the settlement of Anayan. Fore-
seeing that our provisions would not last until the end of the journey,
the captain requested the Anayan men, who entirely depend on
Apayaw for their daily sustenance, to sell us a small quantity of

592 wife. Especially when the women have attained a more or less ad-
562 vanced age, their tongue usually rules the household; and in this
578 they have a very sharp-cutting instrument indeed. The husband
[201] may occasionally vindicate his authority, but most of the time he
shrinks from the women's displeasure. Besides, as a last resort, they
always have their tears ready at hand; I have assisted more than
once, although involuntarily, at family scenes in which the quarrel
ended with a flow of tears on the part of the wife and subsequent
awkwardness in the manner of the more or less aggressive husband,
who finally could find no other way out but meekly to explain, to try
to soothe, and to submit. An old woman, be she married or widowed,
has generally more than one say in the family. And if a woman has
been consecrated a shamaness while in her early childhood, then she
commands the respect not only of the household but of her neighbors
as well, or rather inspires them with a kind of reverential awe,
especially if she is advanced in years.

To resume, both parties help each other in their own way: the
husband has a woman to look after his daily needs, and the wife,
although taking the lion's share of the work, does not lack compensation
in the fact that from now on she has a ready listener whenever
she wants to pronounce one of her philippics.

837 As has been amply shown in the preceding pages, and as will
appear even more clearly from what will be said of divorce, there
can be no question among the Isneg of allowing anybody access to
one's wife or of exchanging wives with another man.

831 Do Isneg husbands and wives love each other? It has been said
593 about other tribes, here in the Mountain Province, that in their case
marriage is nothing else but a juxtaposition of two people, a man
and a woman, that the husband is more like a stranger to his wife,
that mutual love between husband and wife is something completely
unknown. This may perhaps be true with some of them, although I
doubt very much if such sweeping statements are entirely consonant
with the facts. But does it apply to the Isneg? It must be conceded
that in the question of marital love, just as in that of gratitude, out-
ward manifestations are exceedingly sparse among the Isneg. It is
also a fact that husband and wife never or almost never work together,
which after all is not exactly peculiar to primitive people. But can
we truly say that mutual love is unknown between an Isneg husband
and his wife? I should answer most emphatically in the negative:
Isneg man and wife most certainly love each other. Nevertheless it

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

223

taken its regular course, and the final crisis may have been reached before anybody was fully aware of it: small matters may have been combined into difficulties of huge proportions, disgust on both sides may have led to mistakes on both sides. And so it is usually not an easy matter to decide exactly what has to be done under the circumstances. Hence follow quarrels: the woman's people are loath to part with the *tádug* which, as a matter of course, they have come to consider as their own property, and the parents of the man are over-anxious to get it back in order to use it for a future marriage that generally is very near in the offing, and lest they have to pay two *tádug* for one and the same boy.

This whole state of affairs is very well illustrated by what happened in the case of *Kadáu*, previously referred to (Publ. Cath. anthrop. conf., 3: 146). One of *Kadáu*'s sons divorced one of his three wives; the woman went home, married another man, left him again, and then married a third one, namely *Rukkadén*, a Baliwanan married man. The *tádug* had been given back to *Kadáu*, except a certain number of jars, six if I remember well. Now *Kadáu*'s party claimed that everything had to be given back, because the woman was in fault: the fact of the woman's multitudinous marriages seemed indeed to lend some color to this. The other party, led by *Pa-rdy*, the municipal president of Tawit, claimed that the woman had been practically abandoned by her husband, who had failed to give her the customary attentions and to comply with his most elementary duties in her behalf: this was also the common rumor all over the district. The whole quarrel was settled by the authorities in favor of *Pa-rdy*, but the other party did not rest satisfied, and the whole affair culminated in the murder of the unfortunate *Rukkadén* by old *Kadáu* himself. While in jail the latter swore to kill one of his sons, as soon as he got free, because they had shown that they had not the blood of the *múal* (brave) flowing in their veins: they had forced their old father to take revenge in their stead. Incidentally it should be noted that *Kadáu* himself did not show much valor in the whole affair: after a few words of friendly salutation between *Kadáu* and *Rukkadén*, both of them had gone in the same direction in the usual Indian file, *Kadáu* walking behind. The latter had administered a vicious blow of his headax on the neck of his intended victim, and when *Rukkadén* had turned to face him, he had struck him a second blow in the forehead, after which he had run as fast as he could.

586
684

586
684
628
703
578

586 When *Rukkadén* ran homewards in order to fetch his gun, *Kadów*
 684 again had followed him hoping to give him the coup de grâce, but
 628 when the latter had got hold of his gun. *Kadów* had fled a second
 703 time and hid in the municipal building. *Rukkadén* had shown at
 578 least that he was not a coward: although wounded to death he had
 faced his adversary and tried to kill him; he died a couple of hours
 later. The whole Isneg outfit of policemen and soldiers had not
 made a very brave stand either, as the last scene of the drama was
 enacted in the public square, and none of them dared approach old
Kadów, who had entrenched himself in the building just referred to
 and refused to lay down his headax reeking with blood. He finally
 surrendered at the summons of the lieutenant of the constabulary
 who threatened him with his revolver.

192 In concluding this account of marriage, the following Isneg ex-
 pressions may be recorded:

585 *Mañén*: Menses.

837 *Maratáwa*: To marry. Said of both men and women.

104 *Mañotáwa*: To marry. Said only of men.

Makiatáwa: To marry. Said only of women.

Meatáwa: To be married. Said only of women.

Mañadwed: To live in bigamy. From the stem *dwed*, "two", and
 the complex prefix *maña*, syncopated for *mañ* and *ka*.

Maña-ló: To have three wives. From the syncopated stem *talló*,
 "three", and the complex prefix *maña*.

Dumaládag: To commit adultery, to be in love with another man.
 Said of married women.

Munaládag: To commit adultery with a married woman. Said of
 men, whether married or single.

192 *Sumibná*: To separate, to go and live in another house. This does
 586 not always and necessarily mean divorce; it may also mean that
 104 somebody stops living with a certain family in order to go and live
 somewhere else; for instance, a young married couple who have built
 themselves a new house, or who go to live in a house different from
 the one they have previously lived in, provided the latter was in-
 habited at the same time by another family, who continue to live
 there after their former companions went away.

A CHAPTER FROM THE STORY OF HATAN AND HIS FAMILY

152 Abbiawan went on an adventure to seek for re-
893 nown in brave deeds because he envied his brother
578 Ewagan for being a such a famous warrior. Abbiawan set forth to try to kill Ewagan. Then all the brothers, well armed with spears, accompanied Abbiawan, intending to kill their brother, Ewagan. A fight ensued between the brothers. Finding out that that their brother Ewagan could not be killed, they decided to challenge Ewagan one by one, with shield and spear.

578 Abbiawan and Ewagan first faced each other. While the fight was going on between these two brothers, Imlang joined in to help Abbiawan. At the first attack of Ewagan on his two brothers, the shield of Imlang was cut to pieces and Imlang called for help from his other brothers. When he called for help, Haowan volunteered to challenge Ewagan.

Another fight ensued. At the first attack of Ewagan, the shield of Haowan was also cut in pieces. Because Haowan could no longer withstand the attack, he withdrew and cried for help. Hinadolan came to his aid. They fought with spears.

In this fight Ewagan was a bit afraid of Hinadolan because his spear was very big and a shield would not stop it. So Ewagan retreated. All of a sudden, Ewagan fiercely renewed the attack in the

hope that his assailant would be scared. During the exchange of blows, Ewagan was able to disarm Hinadolan, whose spear flew to the nearby sea. Ewagan, upon seeing that Hinadolan was now disarmed, threw his spear at him. With the aid of the shield of Hinadolan the spear of Ewagan was deflected into the sea just beside the other. 578 •

When their spears were all gone, they fought with their *gaods*. In this fight with their *gaods*, both of their shields were cut to pieces and they lost their *gaods*. They grappled together, and because of the vigor of the struggle, nearby coconut trees were bent and there arose a great dust. The fight went on, reaching the place where *secal* grass was growing. All the grass was flattened and some of it flew into the air. When it was all gone, as the fighting continued, both brothers fell into the water, still fighting. The hair of Hinadolan became mysteriously wrapped around the body of Ewagan, which rendered him helpless. As they could no longer move, they sank into the deep water, down to the bottom, beside a big stone. The struggle still went on. Just at that time Paliahan Danag, the helper of Ewagan, was fishing on the bank of the river when, to his surprise, he saw the spear of Ewagan. Upon seeing the two spears, he threw away his fish net and took up the two spears because he recognized them as belonging to Ewagan and Hinadolan. Paliahan started at once to look for Ewagan. He found all the other brothers there mourning because they could not rescue their two brothers in the water. Paliahan asked the brothers: "Where is Ewagan?" So the brothers pointed to him in the wa-

578 ter. Just as the place of Ewagan was being pointed out, all of a sudden, Ewagan was fire under the water. Paliahan, seeing the fire in the water, went at once to lift them up and found out that they still were holding each other tightly. After he had lifted them from the water, Paliahan unfastened the hair from the body of Ewagan and asked which of them was the first to make the attack. The brothers replied that Hinadolan was the first. Then Paliahan explained to them all that they should not fight: for they were all brothers, being sons of Hatan.

834 At this moment Ewagan and his sister Hinalingan suddenly disappeared from the group. After making a search, the brothers found only their bones. Later they discovered that Ewagan and Hinalingan were naked and had already joined their uncle Dalawigan. They had not approached their uncle at once because they were both naked. Dalawigan happened to go to the river where he found the two naked forms. Upon seeing their nakedness, he went back and brought them clothing. When they were clothed, he brought them inside his house. They ate in the house of their uncle. After eating, Ewagan related to his uncle how his brothers had tried to kill him. After relating this, they hurriedly left in fear that their brothers would catch them. The pair promised their uncle that they would never show themselves to Hatan. The uncle insisted upon their remaining; but in spite of this, the pair went and joined their brother Dipparo, who was considered to be a Negrito by his brothers. So Ewagan and his sister flew on a spear through the sky to join Dipparo.